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'A place more venerable than all in Britain':

The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Lindisfarne

David Petts

For those who take the east coast train line from York to Edinburgh, crossing Northumbria, the two most prominent landmarks are Durham, the site where Cuthbert's relics now rest, and Holy Island, where his cult was first promoted. For nearly 250 years, the Anglo-Saxon monastery on Holy Island was one of the foremost religious centres in Northern Britain, and for nearly 175 years, the cult of St Cuthbert was at its centre. However, despite the survival of the impressive ruins of the Norman priory refounded by the monks of Durham, there is very little to see of the early medieval monastic site. Compared with Iona, the great island monastery and cult centre of the kingdom of Dál Riata, there has been far less archaeological investigation on Holy Island.¹ With the intense level of investigation and, crucially, publication of fieldwork on Northumbrian monasteries in the last generation, the lack of a solid understanding of the early medieval landscape of the island is increasingly noticeable. The publication of Rosemary Cramp's landmark excavations at Jarrow and Wearmouth, as well as important work at Hartlepool, Hoddum, Whithorn, Inchmarnock, the Isle of May, Ripon, Portmahomack, Whitby, Auldham, not to mention the long history of research on Iona, now means that an archaeological understanding of Northern British

¹ Cf. J. O'Sullivan, 'More than the sum of the parts: Iona: archaeological investigations 1875-1996', *Church Archaeology* 2 (1998), 5-18.

monasticism can be based on a solid corpus of excavated sites.² In this context, the absence of an up to date analysis of the evidence for early medieval activity on Holy Island is all the more remarkable, considering the central role it played in the religious culture of Northumbria during its 'Golden Age'. In this paper I attempt to draw together the diverse and often ephemeral range of evidence for the development of the early medieval monastic site. In the absence of large-scale excavation within the monastic enclosure, this is inevitably an exercise in exploring many different types of evidence ranging from antiquarian observations, the results of archaeological interventions carried out through planning imperatives, historic maps and documents, isolated small finds and geophysical survey. Nonetheless, despite the disparate nature of the existing archaeological resource, it is possible to outline important elements of the development of the monastery of Lindisfarne and point the way towards key areas where future field investigation may prove profitable.

History of Research

The important Romanesque remains of the post-Conquest priory on the Island have long attracted interest, on account of their picturesque nature and their architectural

² M. O. H. Carver, 'An Iona of the East: the early medieval monastery at Portmahomack, Tarbert Ness' *MA* 48 (2004), 1-30; R. Cramp *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, 2 vols. (Swindon, 2005-6); R. Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity: an Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon monastery* (Hartlepool, 2007); R. Hall and M. Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon, North Yorkshire, from seventh to eleventh centuries AD', *MA* 40 (1997), 62-150; P. Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian: the excavation of a monastic town, 1984-91* (Stroud, 1997); H. James and P. Yeoman, *Excavations at St Ethernan's Monastery, Isle of May, Fife, 1992-7* (Perth, 2008); J. M. McOmish and D. Petts, *Fey Field, Whithorn: Excavations by David Pollock and Amanda Clarke*. The Archaeology of York Web Series (York, 2008); C. Lowe, *Excavations at Hoddum, Dumfriesshire: an early ecclesiastical site in South-West Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2006); C. Lowe, *Inchmarnock: an early historic island monastery and its archaeological landscape* (Edinburgh, 2008); O'Sullivan 'More than the sum'.

importance.³ However, understanding the pre-Conquest monastic activity on the island did not begin until the late nineteenth century. The first archaeological finds on Lindisfarne from the early medieval period came not from the vicinity of the Priory, but on the northern side of the island at Green Shiel, when workmen constructing a light railway to service the nearby quarries discovered the remains of a series of building foundations. These were dated at the time to the ninth century AD by the discovery of a small number of *styca*.⁴

Clearance of the interior of the Priory by, first, William Crossman, and then from 1915 by the Ministry of Works directed by Sir Charles Peers, led by chance to the discovery of a major assemblage of early medieval stone sculpture, some of which was built into the fabric of the later priory and other claustral buildings. This added to the small quantity of material which appears to have been placed within the parish church at some point preceding the 1860s.⁵ Most of these fragments of sculpture were found in disturbed ground in rubble within the priory church, the western range of the priory, and in and around the cloister. Two were also found in the parish churchyard and one (seemingly redeposited) on St Cuthbert's Isle.⁶ Whilst they were all found in secondary contexts, their general clustering in and around the priory and parish church is good, albeit circumstantial, evidence that the heart of the early medieval monastic complex is likely to have stood in the immediate vicinity. The extent to which the clearance work by Crossman and the Ministry destroyed any early medieval stratigraphy is uncertain. Both sets of clearance were relatively poorly recorded; however, the complete absence of any early medieval finds does suggest that

³ H. Clarke, 'Holy Island Priory', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club* (1834), 111-14.

⁴ J. S. Selby, 'On the foundations of ancient buildings and coins of the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria recently discovered', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club* (1845), 159-63.

⁵ W. Crossman, 'The recent excavations at Holy Island priory', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club* 13 (1890), 225-40; C. Peers, 'The inscribed and sculptured stones of Lindisfarne', *Archaeologia* 74 (1923-4), 255-70; J. Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. II (Aberdeen, 1867).

⁶ Peers, 'Inscribed and sculptured stones'.

early layers were not touched. At Whitby Abbey, which was also excavated by Peers and also suffered from problematic recording, a substantial number of early finds were identified, implying that if Peers had found similar material on Holy Island, it would have been noted and recovered.⁷

Following this early work, the island saw little archaeological research until September 1962, when Brian Hope-Taylor, fresh from completing his landmark excavations at Yeavering (Northumberland), carried out a series of excavations. Although there was a 'folk memory' of this work and its results, it was never published, and only recently have the dig records become available (currently held in the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland in Edinburgh). These show that Hope-Taylor opened three trenches along the top and southern edge of the Heugh. Much of the material he found was post-Conquest in date, but a west-east structure on the top of the Heugh and to the east of the coastguard tower appeared to pre-date the eleventh/twelfth century ceramic horizon on the island. He also opened three trenches in Rectory Field, a paddock that lies to the west of the parish church. Here he found substantial medieval occupation, as well as hints of earlier pre-ceramic activity.

The next phase of investigation came in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when a major campaign of research was instituted by Deirdre O'Sullivan and Rob Young of the University of Leicester.⁸ Although a significant pause in research investigation followed, this

⁷ R. J. Cramp, 'Analysis of the finds register and location plans of Whitby Abbey', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Wilson (Cambridge, 1976), 453-457; C. Peers and C. A. R. Radford, 'The Saxon monastery at Whitby', *Archaeologia* 59 (1943), 27-88.

⁸ This was a wide ranging project that followed on from a small-scale excavation on the site of the new English Heritage visitor centre by O'Sullivan in 1977: D. O'Sullivan, 'An excavation in Holy Island village, 1977', *AAe* 5th Series 13 (1985), 27-116; see also P. Beavitt, D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, *Recent Fieldwork on Lindisfarne* (Leicester, 1985); P. Beavitt, D. O'Sullivan and R.

did not mean that all archaeological activity ceased. Changes in UK planning law in the early 1990s led to an increase in archaeological investigations taking place within the context of construction and development in Holy Island village. As far as the early medieval period is concerned, the two most important interventions were excavations on the site of the extension to the Lindisfarne Winery and at Castle View Gardens in advance of the construction of new housing. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the funding, much of this work has yet to be published, and information is only available as short interim statements and unpublished 'grey literature' reports.⁹

Most recently a programme of new research by Durham University has begun on the island. This commenced with a major campaign of geophysical survey, superseding the earlier work by the University of Leicester, as well as a number of less-formal walkover surveys which have succeeded in identifying a range of new sites of all dates.¹⁰ The project is also taking the opportunity to re-address the legacy data from previous excavations, drawing on the newly available Hope-Taylor excavation archives and the unpublished reports from the post-1990 planning-led archaeology.

Young, *Holy Island. A Guide to Current Archaeological Research* (Leicester, 1986); P. Beavitt, D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, 'Fieldwork on Lindisfarne, Northumberland, 1980-1988', *Northern Archaeology* 8 (1987), 1-25; D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, 'The early medieval settlement at Green Shiel, Northumberland', *AAe* 5th series 19 (1987), 55-69; D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, 'The early medieval settlement at Green Shiel, Northumberland: an interim report on the excavations 1984-9', *Archaeology North* 2 (1992), 17-21; D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, *Lindisfarne, Holy Island* (London, 1995); D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, 'Current research on Lindisfarne', *Archaeology in Northumberland 1995-96* (1996), 10-11.

⁹ Ian Farmer Associates, *Castle View, Holy Island, Berwick-Upon-Tweed, Northumberland TD15 2SG* (unpublished data structure report, contract no. 11011; 2007); Northern Archaeological Associates, *The Winery & Village Hall, Holy Island: Archaeological Post Excavation Assessment* (NAA Unpublished report 01/4. 2001); M. Kirby, *Castle View, Holy Island, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland, Archaeological Works* (Unpublished Report No. 1713, Musselburgh, 2010).

¹⁰ D. Petts, 'Expanding the archaeology of Holy Island (Lindisfarne)', *ML* 57 (2013), 302-307.

A shifting landscape

Despite the relatively remote location and the superficial sense of timelessness that the visitor may experience on the island, one of the biggest challenges that faces any attempt to understand the archaeology of Lindisfarne is the fact that the landscape has changed radically since the early Middle Ages. Today, access to the island is via the causeway that leaves the mainland near Beale and runs along the length of the south side of the island, skirting the impressive dune fields that dominate the western half of Lindisfarne. These dunes, like most of those along the North Northumberland coast, developed during the Little Ice Age (between AD 1300 and 1900).¹¹ The encroachment of dunes over the site of the late Anglo-Saxon settlement at Green Shiel are a clear indicator that the dune systems were evolving during this period, and dune formation may not have ceased until as late as the early seventeenth century.¹²

Pollen samples taken from the Lough show that what is now largely a treeless island had had different vegetation in the past.¹³ They suggest that before the seventh century AD, there was a higher presence of hazel/birch woodland, at least on the north side of the island. However, in a period carbon dated to AD 657-785, there was a progressive opening-up of this woodland, with new areas of grass or scrub becoming more dominant. It is hard to resist the conclusion that this significant change was due to the intensification of activity on the island following the establishment of the monastery. Then just before the period 1270-

¹¹ P. Wilson, J. Orford, J. Knight, S. Braley and A. Wintle, 'Late Holocene (post-4000BP) coastal dune development in Northumberland, north-east England', *Holocene* 11(2) (2001), 215-229.

¹² O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, pp. 22-23; K. Walsh, *The early medieval landscapes of Lindisfarne: A case study* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1993).

¹³ K. Walsh, D. O'Sullivan, S. Young and A. G. Brown, 'Medieval land use, agriculture and environmental change on Lindisfarne (Holy Island), Northumbria', *Ecological Relations in Historical Times: Human Impact and Adaptation*, ed. R. A. Butlin and N. Roberts (Oxford, 1995), 101-21, at 107-110.

1395, the woodland disappeared almost entirely, leading to the open landscape seen on the island today. The lack of early pollen has led investigators to suggest that the Lough was artificially constructed or at least significantly reworked during the early medieval period. One possibility is that this was in order to use it as a fishpond. Alternatively, the activity could indicate water management connected to the construction of one or more mills; certainly on Iona, the place-name *Sruth a'Mhuilinn* is testament to an early mill. Excavations on the Pictish monastery at Portmahomack have located a mill pond and dam.¹⁴ Michael Herity has suggested that at Ardoileán (Co. Galway) a stone platform close to the lake on the island may have been the foundations for a horizontal mill;¹⁵ other possible mill sites associated with early medieval Irish monasteries include High Island and Nendrum.¹⁶ As well as these functional aspects of the Lough, its potential utility for devotional immersion should not be ignored – this devotional technique is strongly attested in Irish and Welsh tradition, whilst closer to Lindisfarne, Cuthbert was recorded immersing himself in the sea at Coldingham, and Drythelm was recorded as immersing himself for penitential purposes in the Tweed at Melrose, although in the case of Lindisfarne, any such immersive practices are perhaps more likely to have taken place in the sea.¹⁷

¹⁴ Carver, 'An Iona of the East', pp. 19-21.

¹⁵ M. Herity, 'Early Irish hermitages in the light of the Lives of St Cuthbert', *St. Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200*, ed. G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe (Woodbridge, 1989), 45-63.

¹⁶ C. Rynne, 'The early monastic watermill', *High Island: an Irish Monastery in the Atlantic*, ed. J. Marshall and G. Rourke (Dublin, 2000), 185-213; T. McErlean and N. Crothers, *Harnessing the tides: the early medieval tide mills at Nendrum Monastery, Strangford Lough* (Belfast, 2007).

¹⁷ Herity, 'Early Irish hermitages', p. 53; *Vita Sancti Cuthberti auctore Beda* 10 [hereafter *VC*]: *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert. A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940), 140-308; *Vita Sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo* [hereafter *VCAA*] 3.3: *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. Colgrave, 59-140; Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* [hereafter *HE*] V.12: *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).

The current network of rectilinear fields is a product of post-medieval enclosure of the early 1790s, although it is clear that before this date there was a distinction between an area of infield and the stinted pasture of Holy Island Common.¹⁸ A map of 1623 shows what appears to be arable fields to the north of the village, but not extending eastwards of the stream that drains the Lough. A geophysical survey carried out in 2012 revealed medieval ridge and furrow in pasture land to the north of the current village core. Aerial photographs also show dunes encroaching over areas on the north side of the island, beyond the boundary of the current field system, where there is evidence for ploughing. It is not clear whether this is also medieval in date and perhaps relates to activity around Green Shiel, or whether it is related to a yet unidentified post-medieval, but pre-enclosure, phase of agricultural expansion, which was abandoned in the later eighteenth century, perhaps due to issues of drainage. Possible drainage features are identifiable in the form of earthworks beyond the current limit of enclosure. Although the extensive field walking programme on the island remains unpublished, the limited interim reports do seem to confirm the chronological progression of farming, or at least manured arable farming, northwards from a core centred on the village.¹⁹

The pre-dune landscape of the western half of the island is poorly understood, although traces of pre-dune land surface are still visible. Traces of at least one enclosure can be identified within the sand-dune area, although it is impossible to date without excavation. The area was at least partly used for rabbit warrens: these are shown on the north side of the island on Greenwood's map of 1828. There were clearly some

¹⁸ A. Baker, *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1973), 109-110.

¹⁹ O'Sullivan and Young, 'Current Research'.

encroachments into the waste at the Snook End of the island; and an assart is recorded in this area in the early fourteenth century.²⁰

Another aspect of the landscape which has clearly changed since the First Millennium AD is the topography of the harbour, known as the Ouse, which lies to the east of the village. Although the edge of the cove has not changed significantly, a sixteenth-century map shows that there was then a significant lagoon lying behind it. Being surrounded by water on three sides, the peninsula on which the village is built was then much more pronounced. In the seventeenth or eighteenth century this lagoon was reclaimed with a network of drainage ditches, creating new common land. Notably, the course of Marygate, which now continues eastwards along the edge of the Ouse towards Lindisfarne Castle, once stopped where it met the lagoon, and access eastwards towards the castle followed the lagoon edge along Crooked Loaning.

A final key difference between the earlier landscape of the island and that of today is the access points. As Lindisfarne is a tidal island, access has always been via paths and causeways that cross the sands. There are two modern routes – the constructed causeway that runs from Beale to the western end of the island, and a pedestrian route across the sands that runs from Beale more directly towards the village, meeting the island at Chare End. The route used by traffic is first shown on the second edition OS map dating to the 1920s, when it was a foot crossing only. The tarmac road causeway was not built (slightly to the south of the foot crossing) until 1954. Armstrong's map of Northumberland (1769) shows the Chare End route, as well as route running from Fenham on the mainland directly

²⁰ Walsh *et al.*, 'Medieval land-use', pp. 116-17.

to Holy Island village, where it appears to have led directly onto either Marygate or Tripping Chare. It also shows a smaller route running from the village to Old Law on the mainland peninsula which forms the western edge of Budle Bay. By the time of Fryer's 1820 map of Northumbria, the route from Fenham to the village had ceased, although spurs running from Fenham and Marygate/Tripping Chare survive, running up to meet the main Beal/Chare End route. A final, perhaps relatively short-lived way (first shown on Fryer's 1820 map, last found on the 1957 OS map) ran from Goswick Links down to meet the main Beale/Chare End route.

The shifting sands of the channel between the island and the mainland have clearly influenced this varying pattern of access points, but the street plan of the village and, as will be seen, the geophysical survey, indicate the antiquity of the route to Fenham. This is particularly important, as Fenham was the estate centre for the block of land on the mainland known as Islandshire that was owned by Holy Island priory.²¹

Location of structures

It is against this picture of an island that appeared very different in the seventh century that we should consider the available documentary evidence for the layout of the early monastery. Luckily, due to the significance of the foundation on Holy Island for the Northumbrian church, and more particularly to the importance of Cuthbert and his cult, there are a number of contemporary references to the early medieval monastery and its appearance. It features in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, in the same author's two Lives of

²¹ G. R. J. Jones, 'Historical geography and our landed heritage', *University of Leeds Review* 19 (1976), 53-78.

Cuthbert and in an anonymous Life of the saint; their information can be supplemented by observations in the later *Historia de sancto Cuthberto* and the works of Symeon of Durham.

There was an outer precinct or zone (*in exterioribus*) where Cuthbert finds a place of retreat before moving to Inner Farne.²² A more probable reference to the Isle comes when Eadberht, bishop of Lindisfarne 688-698, is described as seeking solitude on an island surrounded by the sea at flood tide.²³ Both Lives refer to a guest-house,²⁴ and there is the mention of a dormitory.²⁵ The narrative of Cuthbert's death refers to a watch-tower, from which a monk was able to observe Inner Farne.²⁶

Not surprisingly, the best evidence concerns the provision and nature of the ecclesiastical heart of the island. There was at least one cemetery - Aidan (d. 651) was buried in 'the cemetery of the brethren',²⁷ with the implication that there were others. We know nothing about the earliest church in the monastery, although a church, dedicated to St Peter, was built by Finan (651-61), Aidan's successor, and was described as being of wood and thatch construction 'after the manner of the Scots'.²⁸ Aidan's body was subsequently moved into this 'great church' and buried on the right (south) side of the altar.²⁹ Curiously, this church is then described as being entirely covered with plates of lead by Eadbert (687-698), Cuthbert's successor – it is possible that this took place during the flurry of activity related to the establishment of the cult of Cuthbert.³⁰ The importance of lead as a roofing material is reflected in Æthelwulf's *De Abbatibus*, written about an unlocated daughter

²² Bede, *VC* 17.

²³ Bede, *VC* 40.

²⁴ Bede, *VC* 20; *VCA* 16.

²⁵ Bede, *VC* 16.

²⁶ Bede, *VC* 40.

²⁷ Bede, *HE* III.17.

²⁸ 'more Scottorum non de lapide': Bede, *HE* III.25.

²⁹ 'basilica maior': Bede, *HE* III.17.

³⁰ Bede, *HE* III.25.

house of Lindisfarne, which mentions that both churches at that site were roofed with lead.³¹ Cuthbert's body was also placed at the right hand of the altar, in a stone sarcophagus, although whether he replaced Aidan or was laid alongside him is not clear.³² Certainly, Colmán was recorded as taking some of Aidan's relics with him when he returned to Iona following the Synod of Whitby – it may have been that this removal of the relics connected to the founder of the monastery partly stimulated the drive to promote a new patron saint in Cuthbert. Other key figures known to have been buried in the church of St Peter include the bishops Eadberht, Eadfrith and Æthelwald.³³

Miracles associated with Cuthbert's relics before his translation in 698 had a physical impact on the fabric of the monastery. Bede narrates two healings associated with water used to wash the saint's body, noting that the pit into which the water was poured could still be seen as a wooden-sided feature filled with pebbles.³⁴ At the translation, Cuthbert's body was placed in a chest on the sanctuary floor, the body of Eadbert (who died soon after) being relocated in Cuthbert's old tomb.³⁵

John Blair has suggested that the term *basilica maior* used to describe the church in which Aidan and subsequently Cuthbert were laid to rest can best be translated as the 'greater church' and was used to distinguish the main church from any other churches on the Island.³⁶ The evidence for several churches on the island is persuasive, despite the absence of physical remains. The later Priory church is probably the location of the earlier

³¹ *De Abbatibus*, ll. 226-30, ed. and trans. A. Campbell (Oxford, 1967), p. 21.

³² Bede, *VC* 40.

³³ Symeon of Durham *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie* [hereafter *Libellus*] II.6: *Tract on the origins and progress of this the church of Durham*, ed. D. W. Rollason (Oxford, 2000).

³⁴ Bede, *VC* 41.

³⁵ Bede, *VC* 43.

³⁶ J. Blair, 'The early churches at Lindisfarne', *AAe* 5th series 19 (1981), 47-53.

church of St Peter.³⁷ During his clearance work within the Priory, Peers noted a foundation visible beneath the wall of the north aisle, which he interpreted as a small rectangular building, which, by inference, may have been a small, earlier church of pre-Norman date. Although O'Sullivan suggested that Cuthbert's tomb remained unsheltered following the removal of Finan's church to Norham (AD 875), these, admittedly fragmentary, structural remains suggest that a stone church was built over the grave at some point between the original translation of Cuthbert's remains and the eleventh century.³⁸

The neighbouring parish church of St Mary, which lies to the west of the Priory church, has no certain pre-Conquest fabric, although there are hints of a structure that preceded the construction of the late-twelfth-century northern aisle around the chancel arch and the eastern wall of the nave. Taylor and Taylor see this as post-Conquest and Blair is cautious about ascribing it to the Anglo-Saxon period, but there is no *a priori* reason to reject a pre-Conquest date.³⁹

The two churches are almost on the same alignment – an arrangement of churches which is common in the Anglo-Saxon period.⁴⁰ Between the two structures stands the Anglo-Saxon cross base known as the 'Petting Stone', whilst in the Priory church, within the footprint of the rectangular building observed by Peers, lies a well on the same alignment. Also on the same alignment, but less certainly *in situ* is another cross-base built into the base of one of the Romanesque crossing piers. This arrangement of features provides good,

³⁷ Although Reginald of Durham refers to it as the church of St Cuthbert rather than the church of St Peter, he also mentions that it held the tomb (*tumbam*) of Cuthbert: *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*, ed. J. Raine, SS 1 (London, 1835), pp. 45-6.

³⁸ O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, p. 67.

³⁹ Blair, 'The early churches', pp. 48-9; H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. I (Cambridge, 1965), p. 398.

⁴⁰ Blair, 'The Early Churches'; H. Gittos, *Liturgy, architecture and sacred places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 55-102

but circumstantial, evidence for the alignment of the churches. The alignment is not quite perfect - St Mary's lies fractionally to the north of the Priory church; John Blair has however suggested that this is because the builders of the new church aimed to place the former tomb of Cuthbert in a central position within the church, whereas, originally, it would have stood to the south of the altar, resulting in a slight offset in the construction of the new church.⁴¹ The 2012 geophysical survey revealed a range of features to the east of the Priory Church, including a possible stone rectangular structure built on approximately the same alignment as the other two churches.⁴² This might be another church building, but other interpretations are possible and it may relate to either later medieval activity connected to the Priory or sixteenth-century military activity in its vicinity.

There is also textual evidence for two more possible churches on the island, although their precise position cannot be defined. The *Historia Sancto Cuthberto* records that Bishop Ecgred (830-45) oversaw the transfer of an entire wooden church built by Aidan from the island to Norham.⁴³ This may refer to the church built under Finan but incorrectly dated, or to another early structure. It does, however, emphasise the importance attached not just to portable relics, but to entire structures believed to be imbued with sanctity. Another substantial monument that was moved was the stone cross erected by Æthelwald, which was carried with the body of St Cuthbert, and eventually placed in Durham.⁴⁴ Damaged in Viking raids, and repaired with lead, this would have acted as a potent mark of the continuity of the community despite its spatial dislocation, as well as reminder of the reason why the move had occurred in the first place. It is possible that the mention by Bede of

⁴¹ Blair, 'The Early Churches', p. 51

⁴² Petts, 'Expanding the archaeology'.

⁴³ *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* [hereafter HSC] 9: *A History of Saint Cuthbert and a record of his patrimony*, ed. T. Johnson South (Cambridge, 2003).

⁴⁴ *Libellus* I.12.

Finan's church being covered in lead may have marked part of the process of the sacralisation of a building, perhaps echoing the enclosure of Edwin's wooden oratory at York by a larger, stone church (*HE* II.14).

The early twelfth-century *Libellus de exordio* by Symeon of Durham mentions a further church on the island, known as the 'Grene Cyrice' (Green Church).⁴⁵ He notes that Cuthbert constructed it for women, so they would not need to come near the main monastic church. It is not possible to tie down the location of this church, although the fact that it was called the Green Church on account of the 'verdant greenness of the plain' where it stood suggests that it was situated away from the heart of the monastic *enceinte*. Although this description states that the Green Church was built by Cuthbert, implying a 7th century AD date, it is possible that the structure may have had a later origin and have been provided with a fictive connection with the central ecclesiastical figure associated with the monastery.

It is possible that one or more churches stood on the Heugh. Hope-Taylor's excavations revealed a building (c. 15 m x 6 m) aligned west-east that stood to the east of the twentieth century coastguard observation tower. This produced no ceramic finds and could feasibly date to the early medieval period. The excavator interpreted this as a church, perhaps because of its alignment, though it is important to note that this was probably dictated by the underlying grain of the Heugh itself. To the west of the Coastguard are the stone remains of what is known as the Chapel of the Lamp, which is usually believed to be an eighteenth-century lighthouse; however, very little work has been carried out on this

⁴⁵ *Libellus* II.7.

structure, and an ecclesiastical origin, if not later use, should not be dismissed. Certainly, a mid-sixteenth-century map of the village appears to show a small church or chapel in approximately the same location as this structure.

St Cuthbert's Isle, just off the south-west corner of Holy Island, was a place of retreat used by Cuthbert, Eadberht and later monks. The remains of a structure with an east-west alignment, almost certainly a chapel, can still be seen as turf-covered foundations. Surveys of the island by Crossman and the Leicester team also located traces of a possible enclosure or boundary around the chapel, other possible structural remains and a low circular mound north-west of it.⁴⁶ More recently work by Durham University has located a small landing area constructed on the beach below the chapel, which was probably used as the main access point to the island when the tide was high, as the rocky foreshore on the other sides of the island would have prevented a boat approaching. In its current form, the chapel is probably of medieval date, and the site was certainly known as a site of pilgrimage in the medieval period.⁴⁷ However, it is possible that earlier remains survive beneath the current structure. The possible enclosure may also be of early date and the mound could feasibly be a small circular stone hut of the type associated with early Christian eremitic sites.⁴⁸

There are also hints of several cemeteries connected to the monastic complex on the island. We have already noted the reference to the 'cemetery of the brethren' in which Aidan was initially interred; the discovery of a number of name stones during Peer's

⁴⁶ W. Crossman, 'Chapel of St Cuthbert-in-the-Sea', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club* 13 (1890), 241-42.

⁴⁷ E. J. Wells, "'... he went round the holy places praying and offering': Evidence for Cuthbertine pilgrimage to Lindisfarne and Farne in the late Medieval period', *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art*, ed. P. Ashbee and J. Luxford, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 36 (Leeds, 2013), 214-31.

⁴⁸ O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, p. 43.

clearance work on the Priory suggests it may have lain in the vicinity of the later church. The Durham antiquarian James Raine recorded human skulls observed during construction of a path that 'runs down from the Heugh to the place where the fishermen put out and in with their boats'.⁴⁹ Whilst this most likely refers to the construction of the path that runs along the north side of the Heugh to the Ouse, it could conceivably also refer to the small beach to the south of the Heugh, where there are now a number of nineteenth-century boat houses.

There is also reference to a cemetery of St Columb in a Priory Account Roll of 1395,⁵⁰ and mentions in 1390-1, 1393, 1394-5 and 1450 of a collecting box of St Cuthbert and St Columb, suggesting that Columba was still culted on the island as late as the fifteenth century.⁵¹ There are two possible locations for the cemetery. The name Columba is almost certainly retained in the St Coombs Farm, which lies a little distance to the north of the current village, and a St Comb's was recorded in a 1592 Roll.⁵² It may also be reflected in the Colmesgarth mentioned in a lease of 1551.⁵³ However, limited geophysical survey in the area failed to identify any traces of potential cemetery features. A more likely location is in the area of Lewin's lane where, according to antiquarian sources, bodies were found in the zone between the Lane and Chare End, the main road out of the village.⁵⁴

Boundaries

⁴⁹ J. Raine, *The History and Antiquities of North Durham, as subdivided into the Shires of Norham Island and Bedlington* (London, 1852).

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 114.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 113.

⁵² Ibid., p. 154.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 160.

⁵⁴ O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, p. 45.

One of the most important spatial features of early medieval monasteries was the *vallum*, which marked the physical and symbolic boundary of the community. Its form could vary widely from one location to another. At Iona the monastic site was bounded by a substantial, re-used Iron Age bank and ditch, whereas at Whithorn, the putative boundary feature was far less substantial, comprising simply a shallow gully.⁵⁵ At Oundle, the *vallum* was recorded as being marked by a thorn hedge;⁵⁶ a hedge was also used at Culross.⁵⁷ At other sites, such as Armagh, where no physical remains mark the course of the boundary, the surviving pattern of roads has been argued to indicate the course of this and other early linear features.⁵⁸

The evidence from Lindisfarne for a *vallum* and related features is equivocal. Deirdre O'Sullivan suggested a putative boundary that ran along the course of Marygate and then turned south down Fiddler's Green.⁵⁹ This is not impossible, although it would have left a thin strip of land between the west of the village and the shoreline, outside the monastic enclosure. Perhaps more problematic is the fact, noted above, that the main causeway between Fenham and Holy Island village appears to have been aligned on Marygate, and the recent geophysical survey by Durham University produced evidence for a trackway that indicates that Marygate once continued westwards to the shoreline. Whilst Marygate may have formed a boundary, it also clearly once acted as the main point of access into the village.

⁵⁵ Hill, *Whithorn*, pp. 26-66.

⁵⁶ *Vita Sancti Wilfredi*, 67: *The Age of Bede*, ed. and trans. J. F. Webb and D. H. Farmer (Harmondsworth, 1983), p. 181.

⁵⁷ *Vita Kentigerni*, 6: *Lives of Saint Ninian and Saint Kentigern*, ed. A. P. Forbes, *Historians of Scotland* 5 (Edinburgh, 1874), 243-52.

⁵⁸ N. Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (London, 1996), pp. 107-11.

⁵⁹ D. O'Sullivan, 'The plan of the early Christian monastery on Lindisfarne', *St. Cuthbert, his cult and his community*, ed. Bonner, Rollason and Stancliffe, 125-142.

The same geophysical survey produced an alternative candidate for a boundary. This is the line of Prior's Lane, which runs at an angle to Marygate from the Market Place towards Fiddler's Green. The geophysical survey seems to show a linear feature extending along the same alignment westwards towards the shoreline. Significantly, this feature seems to divide an area of paddocks or small field enclosures to the north from an area of high magnetic responses, possibly small-scale industrial activity (hearths, ovens, etc.) to the south. Previously, it had been suggested that the curious angle of Prior's Lane was due to a partial replanning of the village in the sixteenth century as part of a known, but uncompleted, attempt to turn the village into a defended fort.⁶⁰ However, the fact that the alignment can be seen continuing beyond the built-up area of the village suggests that its course is of greater antiquity.

Ultimately, neither Marygate nor Prior's Lane can be accepted or rejected as the formal *vallum*. Indeed, it is quite possible that both roads, either together or separately at different times, acted as boundary features within what was likely to have been a substantial, polyfocal and relatively dispersed monastic settlement. However, it is clear from the extensive geophysical survey that there are no other obvious candidates for a boundary visible in the area around the village.

Wherever the boundary of the monastery was sited, we know from comparable monastic sites that the overall area of the monastery is likely to have been extensive and included areas of residential and agricultural activity, as well as the ecclesiastical core of churches and cemeteries. This means that much of the Anglo-Saxon monastery is likely to

⁶⁰ C. Hardie and Northern Archaeological Associates, 'Fun at the Palace', *Archaeology in Northumberland 2000-2001*, pp. 20-1.

have extended beyond the current area of the Priory and would lie under the modern village.

The first excavation to identify possible early medieval activity in this zone was the work of Deirdre O'Sullivan under what is now the English Heritage Visitors' centre.⁶¹ Located just to the north of the Priory and Parish Church, this had been an open garden area in the recent past, but investigation revealed extensive medieval and post-medieval stratigraphy. The early medieval features were more ephemeral, consisting of a shallow hearth and an area of sandstone paving.⁶² These were the earliest remains in the sequence, being cut into the natural boulder clay. Over them was a layer of apparently wind-blown loam, with no features cut through it. It is possible that this represented a period of abandonment, with activity not recommencing until perhaps as late as the fifteenth century. It is tempting to link the build-up of loam to the period following the shift of the main part of the monastic community to the mainland in the ninth century. However, in the absence of any solid dating beyond a late medieval *terminus ante quem*, caution should be exercised in forcing this archaeological sequence into a historical narrative. The only clearly early medieval artefact was a residual ring pin of a type that could date from any period from the fifth to the eleventh century.⁶³

Around one hundred metres to the north, on the other side of the Market Square, excavation in advance of construction at the site of the Lindisfarne Winery revealed a similar sequence.⁶⁴ Beneath a series of later deposits, an early phase of probably Anglo-Saxon features was identified. The area excavated was limited in extent, but it was possible to

⁶¹ O'Sullivan, 'An excavation'.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 31-4.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 103.

⁶⁴ Northern Archaeological Associates, *The Winery*.

identify a ditch and a couple of small pits. These pre-date the ceramic horizon and an early medieval comb was found, although, as no images of this have been published, it is not possible to refine its date.

A final site which has produced evidence for early medieval activity was revealed in advance of the construction of new houses at Castle View on the south side of Green Lane to the north of Marygate.⁶⁵ Here, below later medieval features, a possible Anglo-Saxon ditch was identified, which contained the partial remains of a burnt wattle and daub structure.⁶⁶

In summation, the limited evidence from the Visitor's Centre, the Winery and Castle View Gardens is indicative of the survival of early medieval stratigraphy across the village. The relatively small size of the trenches used to locate these features means that it is not practical to try and reconstruct wider evidence for spatial zoning within the monastery, and it is noticeable that the structure identified at Castle View Gardens lie to the north of – and hence outside – both putative boundary features. Of the early medieval deposits, much is probably still buried; archaeological interventions elsewhere have noted a substantial build-up of post-medieval midden deposits across the built-up area.⁶⁷

Over the years, a number of other middens have been identified across the island, particularly eroding out in coastal situations. The most extensively excavated is Jenny Bell's Well, on the shoreline opposite St Cuthbert's Isle. This produced extensive medieval and post-medieval deposits, but little evidence of early medieval material; it was probably

⁶⁵ Kirby, *Castle View*.

⁶⁶ Ian Farmer Associates, *Castle View*.

⁶⁷ J. Barlow *Manor House Hotel, Lindisfarne, Northumberland, Report of Archaeological Monitoring and Recording* (Unpublished Report; Bamburgh Research Project, 2011); Bamburgh Research Project, *Village Hall, Lindisfarne: Report of Archaeological Monitoring and Test Pit excavation* (Unpublished Report; Bamburgh Research Project, 2011).

related to the extensive medieval activity in the field immediately to its east identified by Hope-Taylor.⁶⁸ Another substantial midden was found at the east end of the Heugh, below Osbourne's Fort.⁶⁹ This included quantities of charcoal, struck flint, shell and animal bones. They remain undated, but are more likely to be of prehistoric than early medieval date. Other middens located include a small shell midden eroding out of the trackway to the east of the Crown and Anchor public house on the edge of the raised beach, and smaller patches of shells eroding out of the southern edge of the Heugh. These, too, lack dating evidence and may be of any period from prehistory to post-medieval, although there is a notable lack of ceramic material from any of them.

Beyond the monastery

Whilst there may still be some debate over the precise location of the monastic boundary, it is clear that the focus of Anglo-Saxon monastic activity was in the vicinity of the later priory and the village. However, there is some evidence of other activity of broadly pre-Conquest date from elsewhere on Lindisfarne. The best understood site is Green Shiel.⁷⁰ Originally identified during construction of a waggon way in the nineteenth century, the site became a focus of a major excavation in the mid-1980s. This revealed a group of five conjoining rectangular structures constructed from local stone, the outer faces of the walls built of roughly-shaped stones with a rubble infill. In many areas the buildings had paved flooring. One had a series of partial cross walls and was almost certainly a byre. Several buildings

⁶⁸ Beavitt *et al.*, 'Fieldwork on Lindisfarne'.

⁶⁹ O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, pp. 31-33.

⁷⁰ O'Sullivan and Young, 'The early medieval settlement'; O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, pp. 77-88.

showed evidence for phasing (including a blocked doorway in one structure), indicating that they had a significant period of use.

A range of finds clearly datable to the ninth and tenth centuries AD were found, including a spearhead. Nineteen coins were recovered (including the two found in the nineteenth century), all of ninth-century date. These were mostly found in relatively close proximity to each other, perhaps indicating a small, dispersed hoard. There was also a significant faunal assemblage, dominated by cattle, including several complete articulated cattle skeletons. There was also good evidence for the exploitation of local marine resources, including seal, whale and fish bone, along with the bones of birds including a great auk. The lack of any ceramics appears to confirm the eleventh / twelfth century ceramic horizon on the island.

Evidence for early medieval activity near Lindisfarne Castle is equivocal. Constructed in the mid-sixteenth century, the castle was placed in an impressive position atop a high ridge of Whin Sill known as Beblowe.⁷¹ The toponym appears to include the personal name of Bebbra, an Anglo-Saxon queen of Northumbria who, according to Bede, also gave her name to the *villa regalis* at Bamburgh,⁷² and in later traditions was the wife of Æthelfrith.⁷³ The saddle-shaped ridge is very similar to the kind of topographic location favoured for the construction of 'nuclear forts', such as at Dunadd, Dumbarton and possibly Bamburgh. However, there is no evidence for any such construction on the crag, though there has been no archaeological investigation on this site, and it is possible that later military activity destroyed any earlier traces that may have existed.

⁷¹ O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, pp. 92-3.

⁷² Bede, *HE* III.6, III.16. See also section 6 of E. G. Stanley's contribution to the present volume.

⁷³ *Historia Brittonum*, 63: *British history and the Welsh Annals*, ed. J. Morris (London, 1983), pp. 79

Chance finds

There have been relatively few chance finds of early medieval material from the island. An Anglo-Saxon strap-end was reportedly found in the seawall near the Castle in 1986, although very little is known about this item, and no pictures have been published.⁷⁴ More recently, a cast copper-alloy animal head terminal was reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme having been found by a metal detectorist.⁷⁵ Given its fragmentary nature, it is impossible to identify the object of which it was originally part (possibly a pin or stylus) and difficult to estimate its date (late in the first millennium AD is most likely, although it could conceivably be Romanesque). Unfortunately, the precise find location is unknown, so this item remains only a tantalising indicator of the potential survival of early medieval metalwork from Lindisfarne.

Comparisons

Considering its importance in the story of Northumbrian Christianity, Holy Island has seen relatively little archaeological excavation, certainly compared with the substantial open-area investigations at Whithorn, Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, or the large number of smaller interventions that characterise the archaeological work carried out on Iona or Hartlepool.⁷⁶ It is salutary to observe that even in the case of the extensively excavated sites, only a limited

⁷⁴ Glasgow University Archaeology Research Division, *Northumberland Coastal Survey* (unpublished, 1993).

⁷⁵ PAS number: DENO-264785.

⁷⁶ Hill, *Whithorn*; Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow*; O'Sullivan, 'More than the sum?'; Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool*.

area of the early medieval monastic site has been sampled. The large scale and diffuse, polyfocal nature of the activities carried out at Northumbrian monasteries militate against anything resembling total excavation, and there is not one monastery where we can be certain that the entire plan has been recovered. In some cases, such as at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, the focus of research has been on the central core of church, cemeteries and claustral structures, whilst at others, such as Hoddum, the excavation instead homed in on structures seemingly related to agricultural production and processing located at the periphery of the site.⁷⁷

It is important to resist the temptation to combine the various better explored elements of these various sites to create a composite 'ideal' against which the archaeology of Lindisfarne can be compared. The monasteries of Northumberland are a diverse group. Some, such as Lindisfarne and Hartlepool, owe their foundation to the initial phase of Irish influence under Aidan and Oswald; Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, however, belong to the Romanising world of the post-Synod of Whitby Northumbrian church. Some foundations were mother churches, founded by kings and often acting as homes to members of royal families and the aristocracy who had taken holy orders; these monastic 'power houses' would have had a network of daughter houses, granges and hermitages dependent upon them. Even within the *paruchia* of a single monastic federation the physical aspects of the *monasteria* could have varied widely.

Monasteries were also dynamic settlements, changing and evolving in response to political, social and religious developments. Some, such as Hartlepool, were relatively short

⁷⁷ Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow*; Lowe, *Hoddum*.

lived, giving way in regional importance to Whitby, although perhaps struggling on until the ninth century. Others, such as Whithorn, had their origins in the fifth century AD but continued to act as a focus for ecclesiastical activity far longer. All excavated sites have demonstrated clear evidence that activities and spatial patterning could vary widely over their period of use. Yet despite these cautionary observations, we do have enough comparative data to make a tentative start at contextualising the early medieval archaeology of Lindisfarne as currently understood.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the monastery is its setting on a tidal island. Given the Ionan connections of Aidan and Oswald, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the decision to place a foundation on an island was a direct reference to Iona. The islands are similar in size (c. 1.5 miles x 3 miles) and in both cases, the monastery is placed on the landward side, with views of the mainland, rather than on the more remote seaward side. This is important as, whilst there is a clear tradition in Irish monasticism of using islands as solitary retreats, with the ocean being transformed into a metaphorical desert,⁷⁸ in the case of both Iona and Lindisfarne, the decision was not taken to place the focus of the monastery in the more isolated parts of the island. In the case of Lindisfarne, the easy intervisibility between the Island and the *villa regalis* at Bamburgh emphasised the links between the secular and ecclesiastical poles of North Bernicia. The presence of the relics of Oswald's arm, kept at Bamburgh, and his head, kept on the island, emphasised this connection. At Iona, the nearest land was itself an island (Mull), and in the archipelagic seascape of Argyll, the selection of an island for a monastic location may not have been as symbolically laden as

⁷⁸ D. O'Sullivan, 'Space silence and shortage on Lindisfarne: the archaeology of asceticism', *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain. Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. H. Hamerow and A. McGregor (Oxford, 2001), 33-52; J. Wooding, 'Island and Coastal Churches in Medieval Wales and Ireland', *Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages*, ed. Karen Jankulak and Jonathan M. Wooding (Dublin, 2007), 201-28.

on the very different coastline of North Northumberland.⁷⁹ Although the topographies of the islands varied somewhat, with Iona having substantially more relief than Lindisfarne, the basaltic outcrops of the Heugh and Beblowe on the latter, would at least have acted as a partial reflection of the landscape of Iona. It is intriguing to note that, Hartlepool, the other Northumbrian monastery clearly founded under the aegis of Aidan, may also have originally been a tidal island. The environmental evidence from the site indicates that in prehistory the headland would have been separated from the mainland, and the monastery's name (*Heruteu*- 'island of the hart') retains the notion of an island.⁸⁰

It is also worth considering the potential longer term symbolic significance of the meaning of island sites, which may have had some wider importance stretching back into the prehistoric period.⁸¹ Some etymological discussions of *Medcaut*, the British name for Lindisfarne, have suggested it derives from *medicate* (*insula*) and that the site may have been seen as a healing sanctuary before the establishment of the monastery, although there is very little archaeological evidence for earlier activity on the island.⁸²

Lindisfarne: Irish and Roman Influences

Given Lindisfarne's Columban connections, it is necessary to consider the extent to which these links might be reflected archaeologically. It is important to bear in mind though, that the period of the most intimate contact only lasted around thirty years – from the

⁷⁹ See also D. Petts, 'Coastal landscapes and early Christianity in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria', *Estonian Journal of Archaeology* 13.2 (2009), 79-95.

⁸⁰ Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool*.

⁸¹ T. Ó Carragáin, 'The view from the shore: perceiving island monasteries in early medieval Ireland', *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 19 (2013), 209-220.

⁸² A. Breeze, 'Medcaut, the Brittonic name of Lindisfarne', *Northern History* 42 (2005), 187-8.

foundation of Lindisfarne to Colmán's return. This is a relatively small proportion of the total life of the monastery. Also, it is important to distinguish between Columban connections and more general patterns of Irish influence. From the seventh to the tenth centuries there were currents of influence flowing both ways and, in the absence of fine dating, it is not always easy to distinguish which way the influence was running in relation to particular similarities. The potential for Northumbrian influence on Ireland can be seen when considering the evidence of the small group of distinctive carved stones known as 'name stones'. These very small stones, bearing carved crosses and the name of one or more individuals, are mainly found in the two Northumbrian monasteries with the closest direct links with Iona via Aidan – Lindisfarne and Hartlepool.⁸³ There is a variety of parallels for these items both in the Insular world and on the Continent. One very similar Irish stone comes from Caher Island (Co. Mayo), a site with close connections to Colmán following his return to Ireland from Lindisfarne.⁸⁴ In this case, the direction of influence appears to be going from east to west rather than *vice versa*. In her paper in this volume Clare Stancliffe makes a strong case for the continuation of a wide range of connections between the Northumbrian and Irish churches following the Synod of Whitby⁸⁵. Whilst it is possible to recognise aspects of Irish influence in monastic life at Lindisfarne, it is important to be cautious in ascribing a pre-Whitby chronological horizon to such evidence.

The clearest example of a Columban influence on Lindisfarne is the continued culting of Columba at the monastery. This is reflected in the presence of a churchyard (and by

⁸³ C. Maddern, *Raising the dead: early medieval name stones in Northumbria* (Turnhout, 2013).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 38-9.

⁸⁵ C. Stancliffe 'The Irish Tradition in Northumbria after the Synod of Whitby', ch. 2 below.

extension presumably a church) of St Columb, and his name appearing in several place names in the village, presumably close to this church. He also recurs in Priory accounts from the fourteenth century related to the collecting of donations from visitors, again perhaps indicating some kind of low-level pilgrimage activity still associated with him. The most likely location of the churchyard of St Columba is to the north of Marygate in the Lewin's Lane area, beyond both the putative monastic boundaries. In this respect, it resembles the location of the cemetery known as Reilig Òdhraim on Iona, which lies beyond the *vallum*, outside the monastic core. Whilst the documentary attestations to the culting of Columba on Holy Island all post-date the refoundation of the Priory, the Ionan parallels with the location of the churchyard of Columba is suggestive of an earlier origin to the tradition.

There may be other hints of Irish influence in the spatial organisation of the monastic boundaries. As explored above, there is circumstantial evidence for at least two monastic boundaries (Marygate; Prior's Lane). This pattern of multiple, broadly concentric boundaries is paralleled in several Irish contexts, such as Nendrum and Armagh. The early-eighth-century *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* prescribed the following rules for the layout of a monastery:

There ought to be two or three *termini* around a holy place: the first which we allow no one at all to enter except priests, because women do not come near it, or women unless they are clerics, the second, into its streets the crowds of common people, not much given to wickedness, we allow to enter; the third, in men who have been guilty of homicide, adulterers and prostitutes, with permission and according to custom, we do not prevent from going within. Whence they are called, first

sanctissimus, the second, *sanctior*, the third *sanctus* bearing honour according to their differences.⁸⁶

This seems to reflect aspects of the putative layout of Lindisfarne and similar zoning is potentially found at early sites such as Whithorn and, of course, Iona.⁸⁷ At Lindisfarne, the parallels to the layout promoted by the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* can however be extended. The gendered use of space, with women restricted from accessing the sacred core of a monastic site can be found in Symeon's early twelfth-century description of the 'Grene Cyrice':

For this reason he built on the island of his episcopal see a church which is called in the language of the inhabitants Grene Cyrice (that is 'Green Church') because it is sited on the verdant greenness of the plain and *he ordered that women should gather here to hear masses and the word of God, so that they should never come any nearer to the Church where he and his monks were* [author's emphasis]. This custom is still meticulously observed today to such an extent that women are not even given permission to enter the cemeteries of those churches where his body rested for a time unless they are forced to seek refuge there, either from fear of enemy attack or because the place where they live has been burned down.⁸⁸

While this comparison is striking, as ever it is important to be cautious, particularly given the minimal excavated evidence from Holy Island. At Whithorn, which has seen far

⁸⁶ Quoted in C. Doherty, 'The monastic town in Early Medieval Ireland', *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe*, ed. H. B. Clarke, and A. Simms (Oxford, 1985), 45-75 at p. 59.

⁸⁷ Hill, *Whithorn*; O'Sullivan, 'More than the sum'.

⁸⁸ *Libellus* II.7.

more extensive excavation, it is clear that patterns of activity during the early medieval period could shift and change focus, with not all enclosures in use at any one time.⁸⁹ Multiple concentric enclosures identified in topographic analysis need not be contemporary. Equally, one must be cautious in accepting an early twelfth century description of a church and its situation as reflecting an earlier reality.

A further possible aspect of Irish influence can be found in the statement by Bede that Finan built his church 'after the manner of the Scots',⁹⁰ which is to say, in wood. Bede contrasts this with the use of stone to build churches, which he links with the Roman church; according to Bede, the Pictish King Nechtan wrote to Ceolfrith asking for masons to help build a stone church 'after the Roman manner'.⁹¹ However, there is evidence that early Northumbrian churches were also constructed out of wood; this can be seen clearly at Whithorn where some of the churches were built out of timber as late as the ninth century AD,⁹² as was the probable church (Building B) excavated by Brian Hope-Taylor at Yeavering.⁹³ Bede, writing seventy years after the Synod of Whitby, appears to be making retrospective judgements about the cultural or ethnic status of particular building styles, which were unlikely to have been recognised at the time of the construction of the church in question. It is most likely that stone as a constructional technique only really obtained this symbolic equation with *Romanitas* (and by extension, wooden construction with Irish religious loyalty) following the Synod of Whitby, and may in particular reflect the

⁸⁹ D. Petts, 'Discussions and Conclusions', *Whithorn: Excavations by David Pollock and Amanda Clarke*, ed. McOmish and Petts.

⁹⁰ See note 28.

⁹¹ *HE* V.21.

⁹² Hill, *Whithorn*, pp. 44-6.

⁹³ B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977), p. 72.

architectural influence of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow. Given this, the use of wood at Lindisfarne cannot be seen as an example of western influence, either Irish in general or Columban in particular.

A final potential dimension of Irish influence might be seen in the possible presence of a wider devotional landscape around the island. There is a wide range of evidence that ritual activity spilled beyond the ecclesiastical focus of the main church complex. The hermitages on Inner Farne and St Cuthbert's Isle were both attested as the focus for later pilgrimage.⁹⁴ O'Sullivan and Young have also suggested that the series of structures on the Heugh may have acted as 'stations' on a pilgrimage circuit around the monastery and island.⁹⁵ There are also hints from place-name evidence on the island; the name 'Coves Cross' is shown on the north side of the island on the Speed Map of 1610, although no cross is known here now.

A final, and hitherto not recognised hint at some kind of ritual touring practices can be seen on the cross-base known as the Petting Stone.⁹⁶ On the top surface of the base a number of hollowed depressions are visible. These may have been caused by the rotation of a smaller rounded stone on the Petting Stone. A broadly similar depression can be found on a cross-base from Iona⁹⁷ known as *Clach bràth* (the stone of judgement / doom). Both may have been created by the practice of twisting or turning small cobbles as part of a cursing ritual. Ritual cursing stones are best attested at the Columban site of Inishmurray, where they are associated with a late first millennium AD *leacht*.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Wells, 'He went round the holy places'.

⁹⁵ O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, pp. 47-8.

⁹⁶ Cramp, *Corpus*, 201-2, pl. 198.

⁹⁷ RCAHMS, *Argyll Inventory of Monuments, volume 4: Iona* (Edinburgh, 1982), 214-5, fig. 99b.

⁹⁸ J. O'Sullivan and T. Ó Carragáin, *Inishmurray: Monks and Pilgrims in an Atlantic Landscape* (Cork, 2008), 335-41.

To this physical evidence can be added evidence from the Lives of Cuthbert. The Anonymous *Life* records that following his miraculous cure from paralysis, a youth 'went round the places of the sacred martyrs [*circuibat loca sanctorum martyrum*] giving thanks to the lord'⁹⁹ – in his version of the story Bede records that 'when morning came he went to the church and, with everyone watching and congratulating him, he went round the holy places [*circuiuit loca sancta*] praying and offering sacrifice of praise to his Saviour'.¹⁰⁰ It is tempting to draw parallels with this possible landscape of religious foci and the Irish penitential *turas*.¹⁰¹

It is important to exercise caution. None of the evidence from Lindisfarne, apart from the reference from the lives of Cuthbert, is particularly early, and it need not imply that the possible Irish influence arrived as a part of the initial pre-Whitby phase of activity when Ionan influence is likely to have been strongest. The cross type from the boulder beneath the Castle is probably tenth century or even later. Herity in his original discussion of the potential of ritual circuit round the island drew on Irish parallels which he dated as early as the sixth or seventh century.¹⁰² However, the best understood example of such a circuit from Ireland is that recorded on Inishmurray (Co. Sligo). The focus of a recent programme of fieldwork, the *leachta* associated with the pilgrim circuit on the island are more likely to date from late in the first or early in the second millennium AD.¹⁰³ Even if it were possible to pull the date of the putative ritualised landscape as early as the seventh or eighth century, this need not reflect Irish influence. Liturgical processions were widely known throughout

⁹⁹ *VCAA* 4.17.

¹⁰⁰ *VC* 45.

¹⁰¹ Cf. M. Herity, 'The antiquity of *an turas* (the pilgrimage round) in Ireland', *Lateinische Kultur im VIII Jarhundert* St Ottilien (1989), 95-143.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*; Herity, 'Early Irish hermitages'.

¹⁰³ O'Sullivan and Ó Carragáin, *Inishmurray*, pp. 317-18.

early medieval Europe.¹⁰⁴ The stationary liturgy used in Rome was influential in Northumbria. A list of stationary churches was copied around the turn of the eighth century into the Burchard Gospels, most likely at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow.¹⁰⁵ The procession by Ceolfrith between Monkwearmouth and Jarrow on his final departure to Rome may well have drawn on this model.¹⁰⁶ Rogationtide processions (OE *gangdagas* 'walking days') were also known in Northumbria; the *Epistola de obitu Bedae* records that the monks had to process 'with the relics, as the custom of that day [Wednesday before Ascension] required'.¹⁰⁷ There were other dates on which processions into the wider landscape might occur, such as on the feast day of St Oswald, when the monks of Hexham processed to the site of the battle of Heavenfield to hold a vigil and celebrate mass.¹⁰⁸

There was doubtless a sliding scale of formalised interactions with sites beyond the confines of the monastic core ranging from large-scale, congregational, rigidly choreographed liturgical ceremonies to small-scale, more personal, penitential or devotional engagements. Whilst it is highly probable that a range of such activities took place on Lindisfarne, it is not easy to identify any element which is particularly Irish, except the possible (but not provable) use of a cursing stone possibly associated with the Petting Stone.

Whatever the influence of Iona and the Irish monastic tradition on the foundation at Lindisfarne, it is probably that the impact of the Synod of Whitby and the increasing

¹⁰⁴ Gittos, *Liturgy*, p. 106.

¹⁰⁵ Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.f.68: E. Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and the World of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture 1994 (Jarrow, 1995), pp. 9-14.

¹⁰⁶ Gittos, *Liturgy*, pp. 107-8; Ó Carragáin, *City of Rome*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁰⁷ 'Epistola de obitu Bedae': *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 579-87 at 584-5.

¹⁰⁸ *HE* III.2.

Romanisation of the Northumbrian church in the later seventh century made its mark. The most immediate result was obviously the decision of Colmán to withdraw first to Iona and then Ireland with those Lindisfarne monks who could not accept Oswiu's decision. He took with him *some* of the relics of Aidan who had been buried to the right of the altar in the main church. It is probable that a cult of Aidan had already started to develop – Bede records some miracle stories associated with him,¹⁰⁹ although he only died a little over a decade before the Synod of Whitby. It is notable that although a cult of Columba had developed on Iona, it was not just focused closely on the body, but engaged with his secondary relics more widely.¹¹⁰ The decision by Colmán to take relics may indeed reflect his adoption of Anglo-Saxon attitudes to culting primary corporal relics rather than secondary relics (a phenomenon more common in the Celtic world).¹¹¹

By the end of the seventh century Cuthbert was clearly a new focal figure of devotion at Lindisfarne, and more widely across Northumbria. His translation and placing in the wooden chest above his former tomb was a powerful signal that he had supplanted any incipient cult of Aidan that may have developed on the island. It is doubtful that the cult of Cuthbert was initially constructed to provide the island with a new Romanised figurehead. His translation did not occur until over 30 years after the Synod; this was not a rapid replacement of an Irish cult focus by a Roman one, but rather a hiatus of over a generation before Cuthbert assumed the mantle of Lindisfarne's sacred patron. Cuthbert's close

¹⁰⁹ *HE* III.15-17.

¹¹⁰ T. O. Clancy, 'Columba, Adomnán and the cult of saints in Scotland', *Spes Scotorum: Hope of the Scots – Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland*, ed. D. Broun and T. O. Clancy (Edinburgh, 1999), 3-35 at 28-33.

¹¹¹ N. Edwards 'Celtic saints and early medieval archaeology' *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* ed. Alan Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), 225-65

association with the Romanised church is perhaps primarily a construction of Bede rather than a reflection of reality. It is clear that there were some Irish traditions, such as penitential practices that continued to be carried out after AD 664; the Synod of Whitby should not be seen as a sharp point of rupture entirely sundering the connections between the Irish and Northumbrian churches¹¹²

The end of the seventh century was the period that saw real investment in developing a new set of symbolic resources for the monastery. In addition to the promotion of Cuthbert, there is also, most obviously, the creation of the Lindisfarne Gospels. Although there is a debate about the extent to which the production of the Gospels was related directly to the saint making of Cuthbert or more widely to the post-Whitby re-orientation of Lindisfarne, it is clear that its complex blend of Insular, Anglo-Saxon and Continental influences served to convey a range of sophisticated messages about Lindisfarne's place in eighth-century Christendom.¹¹³

Circumstantial evidence suggests that there may have been a period of architectural investment on the island. As has been discussed above, the linear alignment of the medieval parish church and the Priory church probably maintains the earlier alignment of a pair of Anglo-Saxon churches. Church groups are known from both Western/Irish contexts and from the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish ones.¹¹⁴ However, strict axial alignment is more a feature of the Anglo-Saxon-Frankish world; and the most obvious local parallel is the axial

¹¹² Stancliffe 'The Irish Tradition' in this volume.

¹¹³ R. Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham: the contexts and meanings of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (Durham and London, 2013), p. 71. See also Brown and Gameson in this volume.

¹¹⁴ J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a topographical review', *Pastoral care before the Parish*, ed. J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), 226-66; Gittos *Liturgy*, 55-102; D. Petts and S. Turner, 'Multiple church complexes on early medieval ecclesiastical sites in Western Britain' in *The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches*, ed. N. Edwards (Leeds, 2009).

arrangement of churches at Jarrow (AD 681/2), which may well have derived from its founder, Benedict Biscop's encounter with Frankish sites such as Chelles and even Saint Denis.¹¹⁵

The western church at Lindisfarne is dedicated to Mary and there is no reason to doubt the antiquity of this dedication; the pairing of Peter and Mary dedications is widely attested.¹¹⁶ In particular, dedications to Mary were often added to older sites in the later seventh and early eighth century.¹¹⁷ Monkwearmouth acquired a Marian church sometime between 674 and c. 685; at Lastingham the church of Mary was a secondary addition;¹¹⁸ that at Hexham was probably constructed in the early eighth century;¹¹⁹ and the Marian church at the monastery recorded in *De abbatibus* (a daughter house of Lindisfarne) was probably of a similar date.¹²⁰

Together, this admittedly circumstantial evidence seems to suggest that the most likely context for the creation of the two aligned churches at Lindisfarne, one dedicated to Mary, is the later seventh century. Given the probable influence of Jarrow on the axial planning, a date after AD 681/2 is most likely and it may well represent a wider re-ordering of ecclesiastical space related to the translation of Cuthbert.

The End of Lindisfarne: changing perceptions

¹¹⁵ Gittos, *Liturgy*, p. 71.

¹¹⁶ Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters', p. 200; Gittos *Liturgy*, pp. 94-5.

¹¹⁷ Gittos, *Liturgy*, p. 111.

¹¹⁸ *HE* III.23.

¹¹⁹ E. Cambridge and A. Williams, 'Hexham Abbey: a review of recent work and its implications', *AAe* 23 (1995), 51-138, esp. 73-4.

¹²⁰ *De abbatibus* c. 14.

The traditional narrative for the end of the Anglo-Saxon monastery on Holy Island places the termination of activity unequivocally in AD 875, when the monks left the Island in the face of continued Viking raiding. Taking with them the shrine of Cuthbert and a range of other relics, they retreated first to Norham (Northumberland) before continuing their peregrinations, only finally settling in Durham in 995.¹²¹ It has often been assumed that this meant the end of the monastery; however, it is increasingly clear that some religious activity continued on the island from the later ninth century until the re-foundation of the Priory in the early twelfth.

The evidence from Green Shiel clearly dates to the ninth and tenth centuries but, whilst it is most likely that the farmstead was related in some form to the monastery, this does not provide direct evidence for continuation of activity in and around the monastic site. The best evidence for this comes instead from the substantial body of stone sculpture dating to the period after 875, including cross shafts,¹²² burial markers¹²³ and ring-headed crossheads.¹²⁴ As much sculpture appears to post-date the departure of the community for Norham as precedes it, and the most iconic piece of sculpture from Lindisfarne – the so-called Domesday Stone, depicting a group of armed men, swords raised – probably belongs to the late ninth century, perhaps a generation after Cuthbert's relics had left.¹²⁵ This sculptural corpus is a ready indicator that in the tenth and eleventh century there was both a client base seeking to invest in commemorative stone carvings on the island and a workshop capable of producing such monuments. The fact that the earlier and later

¹²¹ *HSC* 20; D. Rollason, 'The wanderings of St Cuthbert', *Cuthbert: Saint and patron*, ed. Rollason (Durham, 1987), 45-61

¹²² Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* 1, 195-6, pl. 190.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 206-7, pl. 201, 1132-4

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 243-4, pl. 245, 1361-3

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 206-7, pl. 201, 1132-4

sculpture appears to be coming from the same general area of the village seems a solid indication of the continuity of the monastic site as a focus of activity.

It is also possible to collate an increasing quantity of historical references to the island, and probably the monastery, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Symeon of Durham records an attack on Lindisfarne by the Scots in 893,¹²⁶ whilst Olaf Guthfrithsson led raids on Lindisfarne, Tynningham and Aldhame in 941.¹²⁷ There was a further Scottish attack on the island in 1061; the *Historia Regum Anglorum* records that this resulted in Malcolm breaking the *pax sancti Cuthberti*.¹²⁸ It is hard to imagine the island attracting such hostile attention if there was not an attractive focus for raiding, a monastery or church being the most likely candidate.¹²⁹ Æthelwine's community and the relics of Cuthbert returned temporarily to the island in 1069 to avoid the 'Harrying of the North'.¹³⁰ During their stay there, the shrine was visited by Earl Cospatrick who brought presents and gifts in penitence for expropriating church property.¹³¹ Presumably the community had maintained contacts with the island and was able to retreat there with confidence that there was the necessary physical infrastructure (secular and ecclesiastical) to accommodate it.

Conclusion

¹²⁶ *Libellus* II.13.

¹²⁷ *Libellus* II.13.

¹²⁸ Symeon of Durham, *Historia regum*, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series 75, 2 vols. (London, 1882-5), II, 174-5.

¹²⁹ W. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: the Church of Durham, 1071-1153* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 9-58.

¹³⁰ *Libellus* III.15.

¹³¹ *Libellus* III.16.

Despite the lack of a major campaign of fieldwork focusing on the monastic core of Lindisfarne, comparable with the research at Monkwearmouth, Jarrow or Whithorn, there is still much that can be said about the early medieval monastery. It was clearly an extensive site with an ecclesiastical core, focused on the churches of Peter and Mary, where the tomb of Cuthbert was culted. There were also other ecclesiastical areas associated with the monastery, including the cemetery of St Columba and the 'Grene cyrice', although these remain to be located precisely.

One of the challenges, though, remains in collating the information from a variety of often unpublished sources. The problems with trying to understand a complex site through a myriad of small-scale interventions have been emphasised by Jerry O'Sullivan in his overview of the archaeological investigations on Iona¹³² and he noted Richard Reece's salutatory observation that 'the information extracted in a small trench was not commensurate with the information that was destroyed'.¹³³

Currently, the biggest challenge in understanding the archaeology of the monastery is the lack of chronological resolution. Early medieval activity has been located in a number of places but, in the absence of diagnostic material culture, it is hard to date with precision. Given the increasing evidence for continued activity at the monastery between AD 875 and the early twelfth century, the early material in question could in principle belong anywhere between the seventh and the eleventh century. There is a lack of any deep early medieval stratigraphy which could act as a chronological control over the wider patterns of development across the site. Whilst both O'Sullivan's excavations on the site of the Visitor

¹³² O'Sullivan, 'More than the Sum'.

¹³³ R. Reece, *Excavations on Iona 1964-74* Institute of Archaeology Occasional Papers 5 (London, 1981), 56.

Centre and the Northern Archaeological Associates' work at the Winery located early medieval features, this was surprisingly ephemeral given the length of occupation of the Anglo-Saxon monastery.¹³⁴ Was the Anglo-Saxon activity so dispersed and shifting that substantial occupation layers failed to develop (in contrast to the substantial medieval and post-medieval midden which appears to underlie the modern village)? The more substantial, but frustratingly poorly understood remains from Castle View, however, hint at the potential survival of more significant deposits elsewhere in the village.

Although the Leicester research project was thorough, tackling many aspects of the island's archaeology, there is still real potential for taking their work forward. The development in archaeological techniques in recent years offers scope for further work. The 2010 geophysics identified a whole series of features that had not been picked up by earlier survey work, most notably the features to the east of the Priory Church, but also possible industrial activity in the area to the west of the parish church. The advent of easily available LIDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) data, which provide large swathes of highly-accurate topographical information, and the potential for using drone-mounted cameras for aerial photography also offer further possibilities for getting to grips with the wider landscape of the island. The economic base of the monastery has barely been touched on in this discussion, but again, new techniques, including bone isotope analysis, may provide a chance to address the provisioning of the monastery and its subsistence base; while the suite of landscape techniques mentioned above also provides an opportunity better to

¹³⁴ *Winery and Village Hall*; D. O'Sullivan, 'An Excavation in Holy Island Village, 1977', *AAe* 5th series 13 (1985), 27-116.

understand the mainland estates belonging to the monastery, with key sites for further investigation including the granary and earthwork complex at Fenham and the undated fish traps that survive in Budle Bay.

Lindisfarne is a nationally, indeed internationally, important site. Whilst much of the site remains under the post-medieval village, it has not suffered the massive impact of development that Monkwearmouth, Jarrow and Hartlepool have undergone. As even at these three sites, significant archaeological deposits have been identified and excavated, there is still a great future for archaeological research on Lindisfarne.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ A large number of people have directly or indirectly assisted with my work assessing the current state of the early medieval archaeology of Lindisfarne in advance of a planned new programme of fieldwork. Particular thanks should go to Gabor Thomas, Victoria Whitworth and Sam Gerace for comments about the copper-alloy terminal, and Victoria Whitworth, Derek Craig and Rosemary Cramp for thoughts about the carved stone boulder near the castle. Dr Brian Buchanan assisted in walkover surveys of the island, and the geophysical survey was carried out by Archaeological Services, Durham University, with funding from National Geographic. Chris Burgess and Elizabeth Williams of the Archaeology Section, Northumberland County Council have also assisted with information from the Historic Environment Record. The digitisation of the Brian Hope-Taylor archives was funded by a small research grant from the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Thanks are also due to the landowners, farmers and residents of Holy Island. I would particularly like to thank Clare Stancliffe for an extremely helpful conversation about Holy Island and its context and for picking up some key errors. The comments of the anonymous readers were also extremely helpful in reframing many of the arguments presented here; any errors of course remain my own.



ILLUSTRATION 1: View across Holy Island from Lindisfarne Castle © David Pett

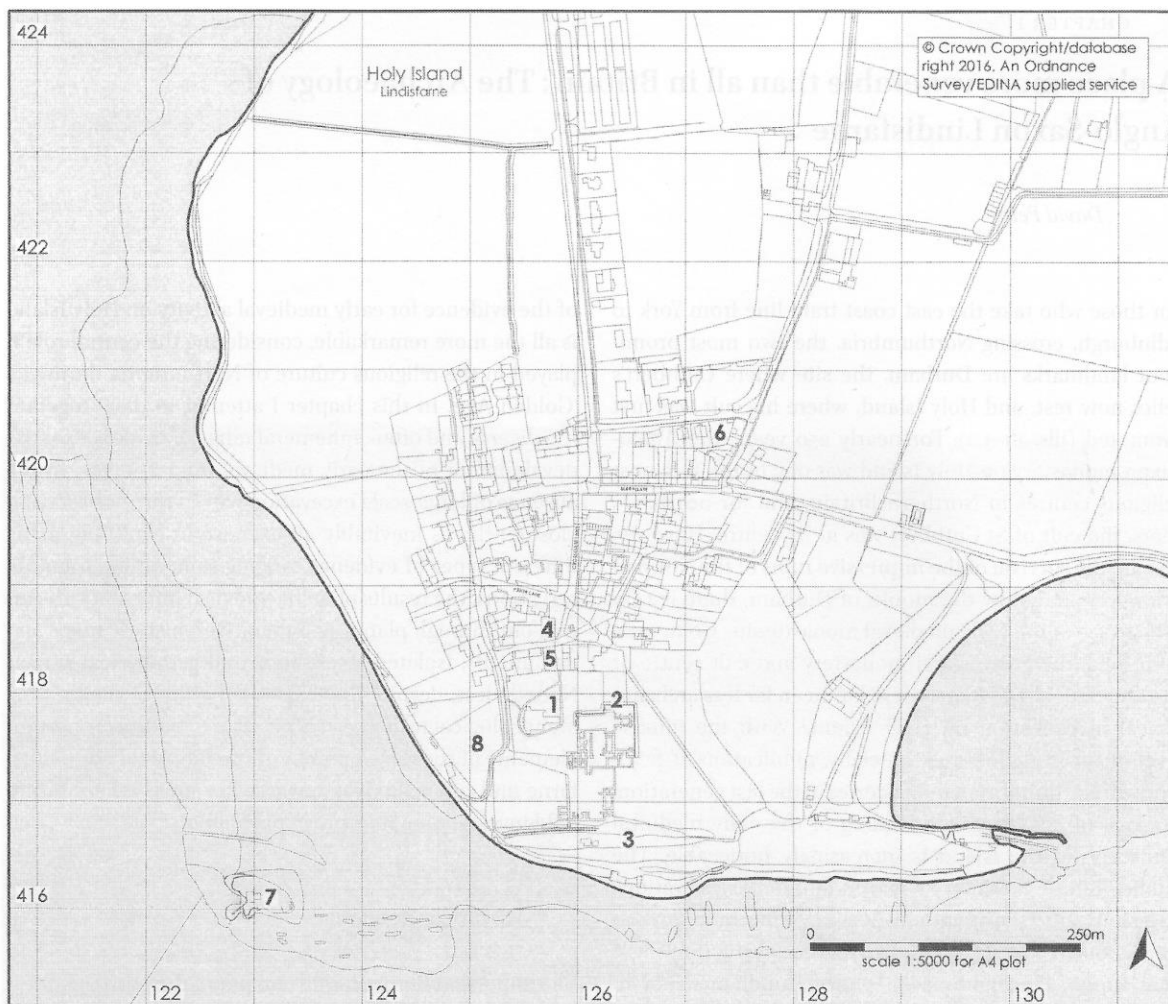


ILLUSTRATION 1.2 Outline map of Holy Island, showing key sites: (1) St Mary's Church (parish church); (2) St Peter's Church; (3) The Heugh; (4) The Winery; (5) Visitors' Centre; (6) Castle View Gardens; (7) St Cuthbert's Island; (8) Rectory Field.
IMAGE PRODUCED BY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICES DURHAM UNIVERSITY.

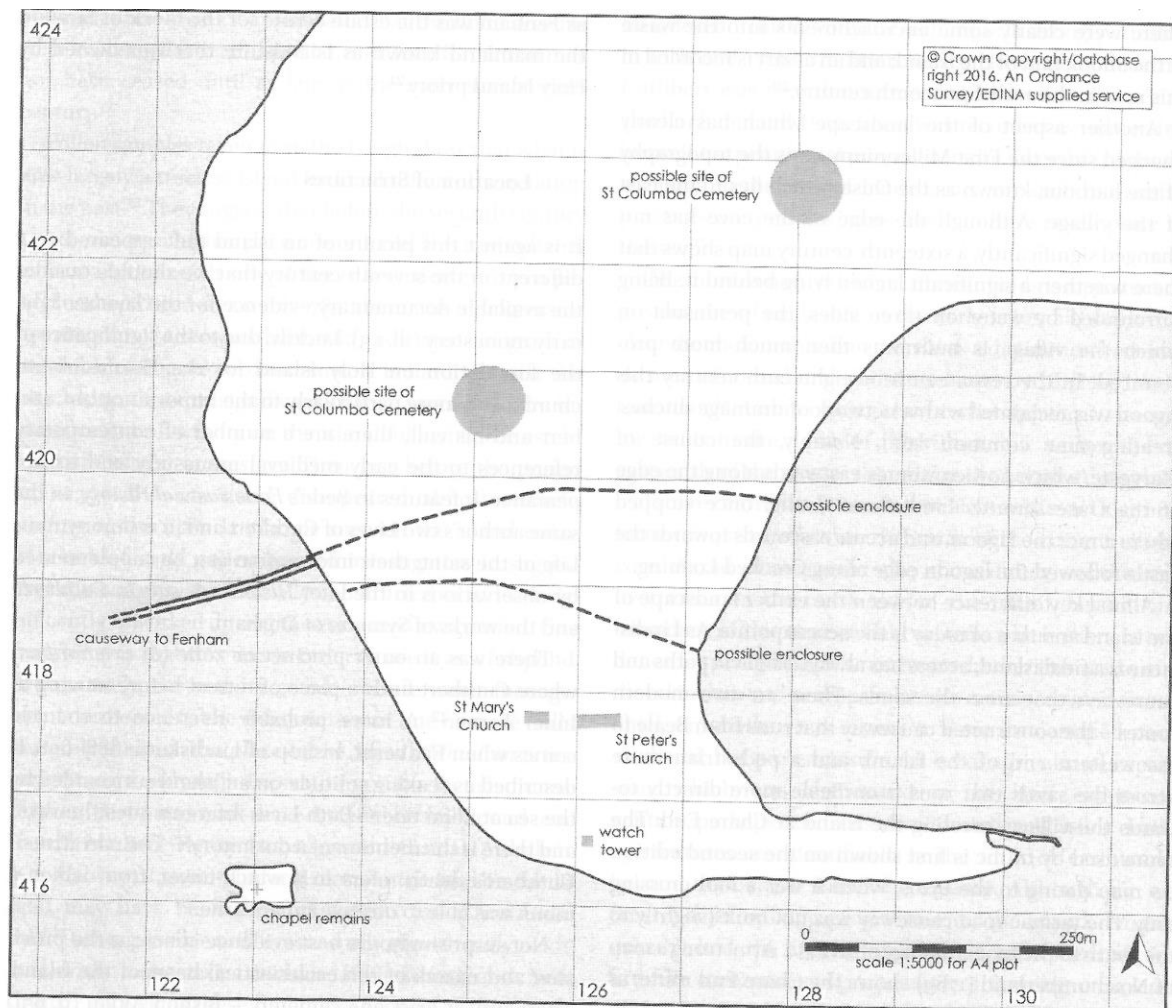


ILLUSTRATION 1.3 *Conjectural plan of the early medieval monastic site.*

IMAGE PRODUCED BY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICES DURHAM UNIVERSITY.



ILLUSTRATION 1.4 *Animal-head terminal found by metal detectorists on Holy Island.*

IMAGE FROM PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES
SCHEME. REPRODUCED UNDER A CREATIVE
COMMONS LICENCE.



ILLUSTRATION 1.5 Tenth century cross-shaft from Holy Island © Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture

